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Zazannu and Šušan
in the Babylonian texts from the archive of the *Šāhit ginē* family

Stefan Zawadzki

It is quite understandable that among hundreds of geographical names from Babylon from the second half of the first millennium B.C. there should be particular interest in those which we know not only from the economic texts but also from political events. Such names as the site of Zazannu¹ — the place of the battle of Persian troops with the Babylonian usurper, Nebuchadnezzar III. — and of Šušan, belong to this category. Šušan is of special interest due to the controversy whether it should be identified with Susa, the old capital of Elam which functioned during the Persian time as the administrative center of the Achaemenid Empire, or (maybe only in some texts) with a site on the territory of Babylonia. This article deals with both names, since documents belonging to the archives of the *Šāhit ginē* (or *sattukki*) family from the period in which a major role in the family was played by Marduk-rīmanni, son of Bēl-uballit, and by his son Bēl-bullissu, originate in both places.

The data on the representatives of the family are plentiful², but we can say more about the descendants of Iqīša who himself appears only in the sphere of genealogy. Apart from Bēl-uballit, whom I have already mentioned, Iqīša had three more sons: Šamaš-mukīn-apli, whom we know from only one document in which he is mentioned as lender of silver to the head of the Egibi family Itti-Marduk-balāṭu//Nabû-ah-iddin in the fifteenth year of Nabonidus (541 B.C.)³; Nergal-šum-iddin, the scribe of the document in which his nephew, Marduk-rīmanni is debtor⁴ and Kiribtu-Marduk, whom we know from documents from Sippar from the twenty-fourth year of Darius as a witness and father

¹ Cf. E. von Voigtlander, The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great Babylonian Version, London 1978, p. 21, line 36: "Za-za-an-nu MU-šū šá GÚ BURANUN "a town Zazannu, by name, which is on the bank of the Euphrates".

² A long list of the texts concerning this family includes the book of A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: its Administration and its Prosopography, Leiden 1997, pp. 476ff. The present article was finished before the publishing of Bongenaar's book.

³ Nbn 853 (drafted in Bīt-šarri Bābili, 7.3.Nbn 15).

⁴ CIS II 68 = Stevenson ABC 33.

of four sons: Ina-qībi-Bēl, Saggillum; Bēl-ittannu and Itti-Bēl-nuḥṣu⁵. The document from the twenty-ninth year of Darius mentions also Iqīša's daughter, Banātu-ina-esagila, Erība's mother, son of Šamaš-bēl-ili as being present when her son was selling a plot of land⁶. The main heir to Iqīša's was most probably Bēl-uballiṭ.

The earliest mention concerns the dowry of Bu'itu, the wife of Bēl-uballiṭ⁷. From another document⁸ from the reign of Nabonidus it follows that Bēl-uballiṭ purchased 15 talents of wool for the price of 2 minas 15 shekels, i. e. for the very favourable price of 6, 6 mina of wool per one shekel (the average price being between four and five minas per one shekel). In a document from the time of Cyrus⁹, Bēl-uballiṭ credit the amount of one mina and thirteen shekels of silver to Nabû-zēr-iqīša, son of Nabû-mukīn-zēri, descendant of Isināja. The contract was signed on antichresis terms: instead of interest the debtor put his slave at the creditor's disposal, namely Ina-šilli-bīt-akītum, baker by profession; additionally, the payment of the credit was secured by a guarantor, Mušallim-Marduk, son of Lābāši, descendant of Šanāšišu family.¹⁰ In two other documents from the reign of Cyrus Bēl-uballiṭ appears also as a witness.¹¹ I know only one document from Cambyses' reign, according to which Bēl-uballiṭ took thirty kur of field belonging to the king (*nakaddu šarri*) from Nādin and Kalbā, the *bēl piqitti* of Bēl-šum-iškun, the deputy of the *masennu*. From the text it also follows that Bēl-uballiṭ decided to harvest the land, sharing fifty-fifty the responsibilities connected with the rent together with a slave Bēl-šunu, whose name is identical with the name of settlement in which the document was drafted and where the fields were located.¹²

⁵ JCS 28 (1976), No 37 (10.11.Dar 24); No 49 (11.12.Dar 24); cf. also No 33 (26.4.Dar 12, Sippar). One cannot exclude that he should also be identified with Kiribtu, son of Iqīša from Nbn 821 (28.12.Nbn 14).

⁶ VS V 103 = NRV 42. It is noteworthy that Banātu-ina-esagila thought it was right to emphasize her affinity with the *Šāhit gīnē* family, while being completely silent on her husband's family, and at the same time — her son's.

⁷ Nbn 313 from 6.12.Nbn 8. The document is seriously broken; nevertheless, it shows that in case of a divorce, Bēl-uballiṭ was to return the dowry to Šamaš-kīn-apli, Bu'itu's father.

⁸ CT 55, 754 (7.2.Nbn -)

⁹ Cyr 119 (4.5.Cyr 3).

¹⁰ These particular terms were probably conditioned by the very short period of two months and ten days for which the credit was granted.

¹¹ Cyr 349:22 (「6?」3.Cyr 「57」) drafted in Sippar and Cyr 318:15 (26.6.Cyr 8). The damaged place of issue was suggested by Strassmaier as T[IN. TIR.KI], however the reading U[D.KIB.NUN.KI] is also possible.

¹² BM 74487 = Bertin 1814 (25.1.Cam 7).

The last document in which Bēl-uballiṭ was still active is dated to the end of Simanu during the reign of Barzija.¹³ The first document of his son Marduk-rīmāni is dated three month later.¹⁴ According to this text, Nādin, son of Hašdāja takes a solemn oath in the name of gods Bēl (=Marduk), Nabû and by the majesty of Barzija to pay the debt amounting to twenty kur of barley from the debt of Itti-Bēl-lummīr and Gimil-Šamaš, sons of Bēl-ēreš¹⁵. The reason for his taking the debt over is not openly stated, nevertheless we can assume that it results from his being the guarantor; since the credit was not paid back, Nādin was given time to execute amount due from debtors, and after the deadline had passed, he personally had to pay the balance due¹⁶. Four days later, Marduk-rīmāni makes a similar agreement with Nabû-iddin, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of [DN]-uballiṭ, concerning the debt of Luši-ana-nūr, son of Šum-iddin, descendant of the šangû of Istar Bābili¹⁷. From the text it follows that Nabû-iddin stood guarantee for Luši-ana-nūr and as a pledge gave his slave(?) Tāb-šulê-xx. Due to the fact that the debt has not been paid back by the debtor, Nabû-iddin is obliged to pay it within the next ten days, and in case he fails to do so, he will lose his slave who will be considered as dues for the debt. What is striking here is not only the solemn form of the two documents, typical for contracts signed with the participation of Marduk-rīmāni¹⁸, but also the identical way of solving the problem by execution on the property of a guarantor. Two years later (520/519 B.C.) Marduk-rīmāni raised credit in the amount of forty shekels from Nidintu-Bēl, son of Bēl-rīmāni, for a very short period: the contract was made on the 18th of Tēbētu, and stipulated payment of a loan as soon as the month Šabaṭu. Moreover, before a new credit could be granted, it was necessary to pay back the former debt in amount of forty-five shekels, including twenty-eight and half shekels of silver with a *ginu*-mark. It should be noted that this document was drafted by Nergal-šum-iddin, Marduk-rīmāni's

¹³ BM 74331 = Graziani No 9.

¹⁴ BM 92728 = ZA 4, No 7 and Graziani No 29 (15.6.Bar 1).

¹⁵ This solemn oath is without any doubt one of the methods to induce the payment of the debt. It is worth emphasizing that this formula appears always in the documents of Marduk-rīmāni, where the period of paying the debt is particularly short. This kind of situation is found in our document, since as was shown by collation — the debt was to be paid already in the month of Tašritu (i.e. within two weeks) and not in Du'uzu, which would suggest a ten months period of return of a debt.

¹⁶ It is interesting that the brothers appear again in a remark at the end of BM 74595 where it is stated that Marduk-rīmāni did not receive anything from them. The inclusion of that remark in a document settling in a relations between Marduk-rīmāni and another of his debtors, Erība-Marduk, suggests that Gimil-Šamaš and Itti-Bēl-lummīr were somehow obliged by Erība-Marduk to regulate his debt owing to Marduk-rīmāni but they had not settled it up.

¹⁷ BM 74681 = Graziani 9. Cf. transliteration and translation below.

¹⁸ Cf. the use of a similar formula in BM 74538, (M. Jursa, AfO Beih. 25, No 65); and BM 74542 = Bertin 2528.

uncle ¹⁹. In 516 (Dar year 6) Marduk-rīmānī delivered 33 qa of oil to Nabû-ittānī for offering of the first half of the month Tašrītu. ²⁰ This text is very interesting because it is the first to give indication, albeit indirectly, of Marduk-rīmānī's link with the temple. In an agreement signed two days later with a certain Sin-ah-iddinna, son of Ša-Nabû-šū, Marduk-rīmānī was granted that by the first day of the month Kislīmu (i.e. within two and half weeks) Sin-ah-iddinna would bring the herd of sheep and make settlement, taking into account increases and losses. This obligation results from the agreement which had been made earlier between Sin-ah-iddin and Bēl-uballit, Marduk-rīmānī's father. Sin-ah-iddin takes an oath that in case he does not settle it till the said date, he will be at the disposal of Marduk-rīmānī. ²¹ According to Dar 297 dating to the eleventh year of Darius (511 B.C.) Marduk-rīmānī took thirty sheep *akka-ditu babbanitu* from Zēr-Bābili, son of Muterīšu obliging himself to return them to Babylon within about one month. From BM 74632 (492 B.C.) it follows that Marduk-rīmānī was owner of a butcher's prebend in Sippar; thus it is very probable that the sheep which he took from Zēr-Bābili were to be used as settlement of his obligations towards the Ebabbar temple in Sippar.

BRM I 70, drafted on the twelfth day of the sixth year of Darius (516 B.C.) clearly demonstrates that at that moment Bēl-uballit was no longer alive, and that his property and obligations had been taken over by Marduk-rīmānī. This conclusion is supported by VS III 99 of the twelfth of Simanu of the seventh year of Darius (515 B.C.), which shows that Marduk-rīmānī recovered forty kur of barley from the hand of Bēl-rīmānī, son Mušibši-Marduk, descendant of the šangū of Sippar, which was part of the debt previously taken from Bēl-uballit.

Document BM 74595 from the twelfth year of Darius (512 B.C.) from the city of Zazannu is particularly interesting. It concerns a big debt amounting to six hundred kur of dates (10800 l.) and four hundred kur of barley (7200 l.); the sums include both capital and interest due. The debtor, Erība-Marduk, son of Nidintu-Marduk, being unable to pay the debt in full and at once, is allowed by Marduk-rīmānī to pay it back in installments: annually one hundred kur of dates (in the month of Arahsamnu) and fifty kur of barley (in the month of Aiaru), i.e. after the harvest time. The agreement is guaranteed by Šamašāja, son of Niqūdu, slave (*qallu*) of Erība-Marduk. Most important, however, is the additional remark included in ll. 9-10; it follows that in this agreement Erība-Marduk is trying to settle a debt which had been undertaken already by his grandfather, Bēl-šunu, son of Nabû-nāšir ²². By a happy coincidence, an ear-

lier document concerning this same debt is preserved — it is BM 74331 ²³ which I have mentioned above. It shows that before 522 B.C., Bēl-uballit, Marduk-rīmānī's father, gave credit in barley and dates to Bēl-šunu, son of Nabû-nāšir. In 522 B.C. Bēl-uballit recovered fifty kur of barley (and this fact resulted in drafting BM 74331); additionally it was mentioned there that Bēl-uballit had earlier recovered ten kur of dates and ten kur of barley. However, at that time the debt was not fully paid, and consequently within a few years it amounted to the huge sum of 1000 kur of dates and barley by 516 B.C. Since BM 74595 was drafted in Zazannu, and since both documents concern the same debt originally taken by Bēl-šunu, we can reconstruct the broken place of issue of BM 74331 on this basis as Zazannu. This conclusion is supported by the comparison of this document with BM 92729 (Graziani 29), another document from Zazannu: in both appear Iddin-Bēl, son of Šum-ukīn, Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Erība-Marduk, descendant of the *Rē'i sīsē* family and probably also Nabû-ušur-šū, son of Banītu-ēreš ²⁴.

From the subsequent year (509 B.C.) another document is preserved ²⁵; it shows that a guarantor, Šamšāja, appearing here together with Nannija (both are termed as *lanutānu* of Erība-Marduk), paid fifty kur of barley, i.e. according to an agreement from the year before, and additionally two kur of wheat. The document mentions also that earlier (most probably in the fall of 510 B.C., after the harvest of dates) Marduk-rīmānī received one hundred kur of dates (also in compliance with the terms of the agreement), while seventeen kur of barley was paid by Šagē. The payment of debt continued also in the fourteenth year of Darius (508 B.C.): a due installment amounting to fifty kur of barley was paid on an order of Erība-Marduk, by Bēl-iddin, son of Marduk-x. Unfortunately, no more documents originating from Zazannu are available, and we do not learn more about business activities conducted there by Bēl-uballit and his son Marduk-rīmānī.

Since this moment Marduk-rīmānī's activity concentrates in two centres, i.e. in Sippar and Šušan. In the period covering first dozen or so years of Darius' reign, Marduk-rīmānī's activity is clearly of private character and only indirectly reveals to the links between the family and the Ebabbar temple; letter orders published by J. MacGinnis ²⁶, however, makes possible to state that in the period between 20th and 29th year of Darius (502 - 492 B.C.) Marduk-rīmānī belonged to a small circle of administrators of the Šamaš in Sippar

¹⁹ BM 92734 = CIS II 68 = Stevenson, ABC 33.

²⁰ CT 56, 139.

²¹ BRM I 70 (cf. B. Kienast, WdO 19 (1968), No 20 (pp. 28-29). Cf. H. Neumann, in NABU 1997, no 30.

²² One could draw the conclusion that the grandson, probably due to the early death of his parents, took over his grandfather's property.

²³ Graziani No 9.

²⁴ Collation of BM 74331 shows that in line 14 the tablet actually reads AMAR.UTU, which is most probably the scribe's mistake for DŪ-tū.

²⁵ BM 74621 = B 2275. The site of issue of the document is not preserved; but since the text concerns the same matter, it is justifiable to assume that it was drafted in Zazannu.

²⁶ J. Mac Ginnis, Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbara in the Late-Babylonian Period, Bonami, Poznań 1995 (texts cited below as MG).

holding the title of *uṣṣar Ebabbar*²⁷. This is confirmed by another document from the same year, published by C.B.F. Walker²⁸. Even though the beginning and the end of the text are broken, we can conclude that Marduk-rīmāni and Bēl-iddin, son of Nabū-šum-līšir, descendant of the Šangū of Ištār Bābili, both "scribes of Ebabbar", were supposed to have delivered fifty-five kur of dates by the 20th of Arahsamnu; they probably sold the dates, and with the money they received, they purchased sheep and cattle for the offering for the god of Šamaš for the months of Du'uzu, Abu and Ulūlu. As an Ebabbar official Marduk-rīmāni appears also in BM 74538 from the twenty-fourth year of Darius, where the son of Arad-ahhēšu, i.e. son of the *gugallu* took an oath to dig the canal in a period of four days of Arahsamnu, with the use of workers of "all *gugallu* of the god Šamaš" from Nār-qīpāni as far as Til-qaulli²⁹. In the 26th year of Darius, he deals with an issue of rent payment in the amount of thirty-eight kur of dates from the field of the god Šamaš in Borsippa, which is Ṭābija, son of Nabū-ahhē-ušallim and Nabū-lu-šulum, son of Suqāja obligation³⁰.

Holding office as an Ebabbar official did not mean the end of business activity conducted on his own account. In the same twenty-fourth year of Darius (497 B.C.) Marduk-rīmāni took a loan in the amount of one and half mina of silver from one Bēl-ahhē-iddinn, son of Basija; there was no interest of the loan, but it was granted for a very short period of about two months. The document was drafted in *Šu-an-nu*, which could probably be identified with a district of Babylon; however, the next document to be considered, dated in the same year, in which Marduk-rīmāni borrowed fifty kur of barley from Aqābu, son of Basija, probably brother of Bēl-ah-iddinna, drafted in *Šu-uš-an-na*, raises the question whether or not both texts were written in the same place, i.e. in Šušan. Marduk-rīmāni's important status is indicated by the fact that payment of the debt was guaranteed by Guzānu, the šangū of Sippar, the highest ranking official of the Ebabbar temple³¹.

Almost a year after the above-mentioned document, Marduk-rīmāni found himself in an exceptionally difficult situation, in which he could have lost his hand. From this document, of utmost interest, published as early as 1888 and since then almost forgotten, it follows that Marduk-rīmāni committed an offense against a certain Itti-Nusku-ēnēja, son of Nusku-ajjal, as a result of which Itti-Nusku-ēnēja was imprisoned. For this kind of crime, the harmed

person could have cut Marduk-rīmāni's hand, and this threat, despite the status of "the scribe of Ebabbar", must have been very real, since Marduk-rīmāni took all efforts to obtain Itti-Nusku-ēnēja's resignations from the right to execute the punishment by paying him quite a big sum of two minas and twenty shekels of silver, in addition to one mina of silver for the time he spent "in handcuffs" (*ina šibtēti*). The document closes with a statement that neither party would take up the matter in the future. This kind of solution must have been quite unusual, taking into consideration the fact as many as seventeen persons were summoned as witnesses, among whom were many representatives of well-known families from Babylon where the document was drafted (*Šangū Šamaš, Ea-eppēš-ili, Šigūa, Pahāru, Bā'iru*).

MG 55 from the 29th year of Darius is the last document to certify Marduk-rīmāni's activity. Mention of Šamaš-uballit, *epišānu*³² of Marduk-rīmāni, suggest that the family kept the prebend of oil-presser. From BM 74632 from the third day of the month Nisanu of thirtieth year of Darius (492 B.C.) from Šušan it follows that Marduk-rīmāni was already dead at that time, while the family business was taken over by his son Bēl-bullissu. Bēl-bullissu borrowed twenty shekels of silver at 20% from Nergal-ahhē-iddinn, son of Marduk-bēl-napišti, descendant of the Šangū Šamaš, but gave as a pledge his butcher's prebend in the Šamaš temple in Sippar (*isqu ṭabihātu*) from the 1st, 11th and 12th day of each month. From an important remark included in the text, it follows that this was not the first loan taken by the family from Nergal-ahhē-iddina; it was Marduk-rīmāni who had already raised quite a big loan of four minas twenty shekels of silver, giving in pledge his doorkeeper's prebend (*isqu atātu*) in the high gate, and 3 qa of bread which he received as the owner of the prebend of the goddess of Šarrat Sippar. The debt was settled as late as 488 B.C. (34th year of Darius); in Peek 12 we find an obligation which was agreed between Nergal-ahhē-iddina and Bēl-bullissu that Nergal-ahhē-iddina would return the promissory note of Bēl-bullissu's father within one week after the date the document was written; the text also states that Nergal-ahhē-iddina has no more claims towards Bēl-bullissu as a successor of Marduk-rīmāni, thus no promissory note which would be found in the future has any material value as evidence. This means that in about five years after the death of his father, Bēl-bullissu settled his father's debts.

On the 22nd of Šabatu of the thirtieth year of Darius (491 B.C. in the Julian calendar) some members of family, namely Inbā, wife of the late Marduk-rīmāni (and mother of Bēl-bullissu), Arad-Bēl, the so far unknown son of Marduk-rīmāni, and Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Bēl-uballit, i.e. Marduk-rīmāni's brother (i.e. uncle of Bēl-bullissu and Arad-Bēl)³³ borrowed in Šušan one mina and ten shekels of silver from Nādin, son of Iti-Nabū-balātu and Saggila-

²⁷ MG 35 (25.10.Dar 20); CT 55.29 (11+x.3.Dar 21); MG 43 (20.9.Dar 26); MG 51 (21.2.Dar 27). MG 55 (15.7.Dar 29).

²⁸ Iraq 44 (1982), called Binning 6.

²⁹ M. Jursa, Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit, AfO Beih. 25, p. 182.

³⁰ S. Dalley, Edinburgh, No. 73. The document was drafted in Sippar.

³¹ It is, however, not clear who makes an oath and what obligation follows in case Marduk-rīmāni should not pay the debt.

³² Concerning *epišānu*, cf. MacGinnis, Letter Order, s. 142-143. The data gathered there needs improvements.

³³ So far it is known only from this document.

ja, son of Kiribtu for pledge of Arad-Bēl's house in the harbour of Sippar. The creditor received this house for three years' use free of charge on terms of antichresis, meaning that the debtors would not pay interest on the borrowed sum. The document is unique for several reasons: one notices the presence of Inbā and the absence of principal heir of patrimony, Bēl-bullissu. What is striking is the cooperation of many members of family: the widow of the late head of family, their(?) two sons and brother of Marduk-rimanni, despite the fact that after Marduk-rimanni's death his property was most probably divided. Such opinion is suggested by the fact that the house given as a pledge constituted the exclusive property of Arad-Bēl. It is worth mentioning that at least one of the two creditors belonged to the family, Saggilaja, son of Kiribtu, is without any doubt identical with Saggilum, son of Kiribtu, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*³⁴. Whether we locate Šušan in the territory of Babylonia or whether we identify it with Susa, it is evident that there was a very representative circle of the family there. One wonders why Inbā was present, while Bēl-bullissu was absent. Perhaps these facts should be combined, which is also suggested by the last, so far unmentioned document, BRM I 84, drafted in Babylon on twenty-eight day of Tašrītu of thirty-fifth year of Darius. It follows from this text that Bēl-bullissu had a debt with Marduk-uballissu, son of Mušēzib-Marduk of the Imbušija family, amounting to eleven kur of dates, and Inbā, mother of Bēl-bullissu was a guarantor; she, apparently, still kept her own property, despite the death of her husband. The payment was settled by Bēl-ittannu, son of Uballissu-Gula of the Šangū Ištar Bābili family, who was probably debtor (or creditor?) of Bēl-bullissu. As is clear from this document, the mother kept close relations with the heir, and we cannot rule out that she represented his interests during her stay in Šušan.

It is not easy to locate Šušan in documents of the *Šāhit ginē* family; there are no data in the texts which would make it possible to identify it for certain with Susa, or to locate it in Babylonia. The fact that for some time the activity of family members limited itself to Sippar and to Zazannu located in a short distance from it, does not exclude the possibility of the identification of Šušan with Susa. This suggestion is more justifiable because documents from Šušan appear just at the moment when there are no more documents from Zazannu, which creates the impression of change in the sphere of activity. The time factor is important here. All documents from Šušan(na), published here, originate from the period of late winter/early spring — just like the documents from Šušan from the Egibi archives; the fact has been pointed out by K. Abraham³⁵. At

that time, as we know from Xenophon, the kings of Persia used to leave Babylonia for Susa³⁶. The presence in Susa of many Babylonian officials who could accompany the king in his journey would be fully justifiable. K. Abraham has made an extensive list of Babylonian officials who are mentioned in Egibi documents drafted at Šušan. One of these officials, Zērija, a judge (*dajjanu*), present in Šušan on the third day of Addaru II of sixteenth year of Darius³⁷ was there again in the thirtieth year of Darius³⁸, and was accompanied by two other, so far unknown judges, namely Iddin-Bēl and Iqīša-Marduk. In BM 74632 dated on the third day of thirtieth year of Darius, the witness was Bēl-rimanni, son of Nabū-šum-ukīn, descendant of the *rab bāni Marduk* family, known already from Dar 437 from Šušan in the sixteenth year of Darius. In 498 B.C. Guzānu, the šangū Sippar stayed in Šušan³⁹. The extensive group of officials who appeared in Šušan suggest that they either accompanied the king on his way back to Persia, or on the contrary, that the king of Persia did not visit Babylonia in these years; consequently, it was necessary for them to visit his Iranian capital. This possibility is indicated by documents from Šušan from 492 and 491 B.C., that is the year of Mardonius' Greek campaign (492 B.C.) and preparations for the next, unsuccessful, campaign in which the Persians were defeated at Marathon (490 B.C.). It would be understandable if at this important moment Darius resigned his winter stay in Babylonia and remained in Susa — the empire's administrative center. It is also very probable that Xerxes, too, did not come to Babylonia in the winter season at the end of his first year (485/484)⁴⁰. This could have been connected with his plan to resume the Greek campaigns and with the unstable situation in the country (revolt in Egypt). Under this assumption it would be easier to understand why so many judges arrived at Susa — probably in order to solve the cases in which the final decision was reserved for the king.

³⁶ Xenophon, Cyropaedia VII, 6, 22 and Anabasis III, 5, 15.

³⁷ BM 33936:14 (K. Abraham p. 80).

³⁸ BM 74633 (22.11.Dar 30).

³⁹ It cannot be ruled out that Guzānu stayed in Šušan also in the sixteenth year of Darius. BM 63847 dated on the second day of Aiaru in that year (the king's name is not preserved; however, the mention of Guzānu, the šangū Sippar, leaves no doubt that the document must be dated to the reign of Darius; cf. MacGinnis, Letter Order, s. 131) mentions *ši-da-a-ta šā a-na [x x x] šā it-ti LUGAL....* ⁴⁰*Gu-za-nu* ¹⁰SANGA UD.KIB. NUN.KI *id-din-nu*.

⁴⁰ VS 4, 194, cf. G. Cardascia, Les archives des Murašu (Paris 1951) 70-71 and S. Graziari, I testi Mesopotamici datati al regno di Serse (495-465 a.C.), Suppl. n. 47 agli AIUON vol. 46 (1986), No. 18. R. Zadok, TAVO 8, p. 299 locates the Šušan of this text "not far from Barsip?".

³⁴ It is known from JCS 28, No 33 (26.4.Dar 12), where the genealogy is as follows: Saggilum, son of Kiribtu, descendant of *Šāhit ginē* and from JCS 28, No 37 (10.11.Dar 24), where one can read: Ina-qībi-Bēl and Saggilum, sons of Kiribtu-Marduk. Similarly Iti-Bēl-nuḥšu, son of Kiribtu-Marduk, descendant of *Šāhit ginē* (No 37) and Iti-Bēl-nuḥšu, son of Kiribtu in JCS 28, No 49 (11.12.Dar 24). One can not exclude that Bulluṭu, son of Kiribtu from JCS 28, No 49 was also a member of the family.

³⁵ Šušan in the Egibi Texts from the Time of Marduk-našir-apli, OLP 28 (1997) 55-85.

1. BM 74331 = Graziani 9 Collated by M. Jursa (*) and me (**)

[Zazanna]

29.3 Bar 1

1. *ina ú-il-ti šá ŠE.BAR*
2. *「u」* ZÚ.LUM.MA šá ^{md}EN-TIN^{it}*
3. *「DUMU」*-šú* šá* ^{md}BA^{ka}-a DUMU <「>.SUR GI.NA*
4. *「šá」 inaUGU ^{md}EN-šú-nu DUMU-šú*
5. *šá ^{md}AG-na-šir 「ina」 lib-bi*
6. *50* KÙR* ŠE.BAR ^{md}EN-TIN^{it} ina ŠUⁱⁱ*
7. *^{md}EN-šú-nu ma-hi-ir e-lat*
8. *「2」*** GÍD*.DA*.MEŠ* šá 10 KÙR ŠE.BAR*
9. *「u」* 10 KÙR ZÚ.LUM.MA*
10. *šá* EN-TIN^{it}*ina* ŠUⁱⁱ*^{md}EN-šú-nu* mah*-ru**
11. *^{la}mu-kin-nu ^{md}MU-^dEN DUMU-šú*
12. *šá ^{md}MU-DU ^{md}Še-el-li-bi*
13. *DUMU-šú šá ^{md}「AG」-MU-GAR^{an} A ^{md}E*-gì*-bi***
14. *^{md}AG-ú-sur-šú DUMU-šú ^{md}AMAR.UTU-[*
15. *^{md}Ki-din-^{la}Na-na-a ^{la}šID*
16. *^{md}KI-AMAR.UTU-TIN DUMU-šú šá ^{md}SU*-AM[AR*-UTU]*
17. *A* ^{la}SIPA*ANŠE*.KUR*.RA* ^{md}「Za-za-an-na」*
18. *ITU.SIG₄ UD.29** KÁM MU.[1.KÁM]*
19. *^{md}Bar-zi-ia LUGAL E.KI LU[GAL KUR.KUR]*

L.e.

20. *「^{md}***-la***-a₄*** TI***-it****

From the debt consisting of barley and dates belonging to Bēl-uballit, son of Iqīša, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*, charged against Bēl-šunu, son of Nabû-nāšir — 50 kur of barley Bēl-uballit has received from it from the hand of Bēl-šunu. This is separate from two(?) contracts consisting 10 kur of barley and 10 kur of dates, which Bēl-uballit has got from the hand of Bēl-šunu.

Witnesses (are): Iddin-Bēl, son of Šum-ukīn; Šellibi, son of Nabû-šum-iškun, descendant of Egibi; Nabû-ušuršu, son of Marduk(?) -x, descendant of Kidin-Nanā; the scribe Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Erība-Marduk, descendant of the *Rē'i sisē*. [Zazanna], month of Simanu, twenty-ninth day, [first year] of Barzija, king of Babylon, kin[g of Lands]. They have taken one copy each.

Com.:

Before GÍD.DA.MEŠ there was an additional sign of which the "head" of two vertical wedge are still visible. Maybe 「2」?

2. BM 92729 = ZA 4, 7 and Graziani 29 Collated

Zazannu

15.6.Bar I (522 B.C.)

1. *^{md}Na-din DUMU-šú šá ^{md}Haš-da-a*
2. *ina ^dEN ^dAG u ^{md}Bar-zi-ia**
3. *LUGAL E.KI LUGAL KUR.KUR a-na ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni*
4. *A-šú šá ^{md}EN-TIN^{it} A ^{la}「I」.SUR GI.NA*
5. *it-te-me a-di-i UD.2.KÁM šá*
6. *ITU.DU₆* 20 KÙR ŠE.BAR¹ ina ra-šu-tú*
7. *šá ^{md}KI-^dEN-lum-mir u ^{md}GI-^dUTU*
8. *DUMU.MEŠ šá ^{md}EN-KÁM* ina ^{md}Sip-par^{ki}*
- Rev.
9. *a-na ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni*
10. *A-šú šá ^{md}EN-TIN^{it} A ^{la}「I」.SUR GI.NA*
11. *a-nam-din-nu ^{la}mu-kin-nu*
12. *MU-^dEN A-šú šá ^{md}MU-DU ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ-šú*
13. *A-šú šá ^{md}DÜ^{lu}-KÁM ^{md}An-da-「har」**
14. *A-šú šá ^{md}UR.A ^{la}šID ^{md}KI-^dAMAR.UTU-TIN*
15. *A-šú šá ^{md}SU-^dŠÚ A ^{la}SIPA ANŠE.KUR.RA*
16. *^{md}Za-za-an-na ITU.KIN UD.15.KÁM*
17. *MU.1.KÁM ^{md}Bar-zi-ia LUGAL E.KI*
18. *LUGAL KUR.KUR*

Nādin, son of Hašdāja swore by Bēl, Nabû and Barzija, king of Babylon, King of Lands to Marduk-rīmāni, son of Bēl-uballit, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*: "By the second day of the month Tašritu(!) I will deliver at Sippar twenty kur of barley, from the debt of Itti-Bēl-lummīr and Gimil-Šamaš, sons of Bēl-ēreš to Marduk-rīmāni, son of Bēl-uballit, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*.

Witnesses (are): Iddin-Bēl, son of Šum-ukīn; Nabû-ahhešu, son of Banītu-ēreš; Andahar, son of Kalbā; the scribe Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Erība-Marduk, descendant of the horseherd family. Zazanna, month of Ululu, fifteenth day, first year of Barzija, king of Babylon, king of Lands.

Com.:

L.13. The reading of the last sign as GI is fully excluded. The sign is partially broken, however three oblique signs are cut by one vertical sign and before them two short oblique signs are still visible. What we see now does not exclude the reading *har*, but excludes the reading GI suggested by Strassmaier and Graziani.

3. BM 74681 = Graziani 30. Collated from the photo in Graziani's book

Sippar

19.6.Bar 1 (522 B.C.)

1. ^{md}AG-MU A-šú šá ^{mu}MU-^dAG A ^{md}[x]-TIN^{it}
2. ina ^dEN ^dAG u a-de-e šá ^{mu}Bar-zi-ja
3. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI LUGAL KUR.KUR a-na
4. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni A-šú šá ^{md}EN-TIN^{it}
5. A ^{lu}ŠUR GI.NA it-te-me
6. ki a-di-i UD.1.KÁM šá ITU.DU₆ KÙ.BABBAR-a₄(?)
7. ki*-i* pi*-i* ú-íl-ti šá ^{mu}Lu-UD.DA-ana-ZÁLAG
8. A-šú šá ^{mu}MU*-DU* A ^{lu}SANGA* ^dIštar* TIN.TIR.KI
9. šá ^{md}DÚG*.GA*-šu*-li*-e*[x x ^{lu}qal-la]
10. šá ^{md}AG-MU A [^{md}MU-^dAG A ^{md}x-TIN(it) a-n]a maš-ka-nu
11. šab-ta a-na ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni i*-i*-ir*
12. ki-i la e-te*-i*-ir ^{md}DÚG.GA-šu*-li*-e*[x x]
13. ku-um ra-šu-tu šá ^{mu}Lu-UD.DA-ana-ZÁLAG
14. a*-na* ŠÁM* gam*-ru-tu pa-ni ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni
15. id-dag-gal ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{md}DU-NUMUN
17. A-šú šá ^{mu}Bu-nan-nu A ^{mu}Á.GÁL-e-a ^{mu}IR-^dUTU
18. A-šu šá ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ-bul-lit A ^{mu}Ir-a-ni
19. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-ŠEŠ ^{lu}ŠID A-šú šá ^{md}EN-x
20. A ^{md}30-15 Sip-par^{ki} ITU.KIN
21. UD.20.1.LAL.KAM MU.1.KÁM
22. ^{mu}Bar-zi-ja LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI
23. ù* KUR.KUR

Nabû-iddin, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of [DN]-uballiṭ, swore by Bēl, Nabû and by the majesty of Barzija, king of Babylon, king of Lands to Marduk-rīmānī, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of the *Šāhit ginê*: "Till the first day of the month Tašrītu I will pay that(?) silver in accordance with the debt of Lūši-ana-nūr, son of Šum-ukīn, descendant of the Šangû of Ištar Bābili, for which Ṭāb-šūlī-[x x, the slave of] Nabû-iddin, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of x-uballiṭ was taken as a pledge. If he does pay, Ṭāb-šūlī-x-x will belong to Marduk-rīmānī as the full price for the debt of Lūši-ana-nūr.

Witnesses (are): Mukīn-zēri, son of Bunānu, descendant of Li'ea; Arad-Šamaš, son of Bēl-ah-bullit, descendant of Irani; Marduk-šum-ušur, the scribe, son of Bēl-x, descendant of Sin-imitti. Sippar, month of Ululu, nineteenth day, first year of Barzija, king of Babylon and Lands.

Com.:

The text was collated by me from photo in Graziani's book. The reading of the four first signs in l. 7 was suggested by Irving Finkel.

4. BM 74595 = Bertin 2250 Collated

Zazannu

24.I.Dar 12 (510 B.C.)

1. 6 me⁷ ZÚ.LUM.MA ù 4 me ŠE.BAR SAG.DU u HAR.RA
2. šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-an-ni DUMU šá ^{md}EN-TIN^{it} A ^{lu}ŠUR sat-tuk
3. ina muh-hi ^{mu}SU-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU-šú šá ^{mu}Ni-din-tu₄-^dA MAR.UTU
4. ina MU.AN.NA 1 me ZÚ.LUM.MA ina ITI.APIN ù
5. 50 KÙR ŠE.BAR ina ITI.GUD i-nam-di-in
6. pu-ut e-ṭè-ru šá ZÚ.LUM.MA-a₄ 6 me ù
7. ŠE.BAR-a₄ 4 me KÙR ^{md}UTU-a-a DUMU šá ^{mu}Ni-qu-du
8. ^{lu}qal-la šá ^{mu}SU-^dAMAR.UTU na-ši ŠE.BAR u ZÚ.LUM.MA
9. ra-šu-ti šá muh-hi ^{md}EN-šú-nu DUMU šá ^{md}AG-na-šir
10. ^{lu}AD.AD šá ^{mu}SU-^dAMAR.UTU

Rev.

11. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{mu}KAR-^dEN DUMU ^{md}EN-ri-man-an-ni
12. ^{mu}Qi-bi-^dEN DUMU-šá ^{md}EN-MU DUMU ^{mu}Maš-tuk
13. ^{mu}Gu-za-nu DUMU šá ^{md}AG-MU-GIŠ DUMU ^{mu}Ba-si-ja
14. ^{mu}Lib-lu⁷ DUMU šá ^{mu}SU-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU ^{mu}IR-^dĒ-a
15. ^{md}U+GUR-ina-SUH-SUR DUMU-šá ^{mu}NUMUN-ja DUMU ^{lu}SANGA ^dUTU
16. ^{mu}Šá-^dAG-šú-ú DUMU šá ^{md}AG-APIN^{es} ^{md}AG-it-tan-nu DUMU šá
17. ^{md}EN-MU DUMU ^{mu}Ba-bu-ti ^{mu}Tab-ni-e-a DUMU šá
18. ^{mu}LU-UD.DU-ana-ZÁLAG DUMU ^{mu}Ši-gu-ú-a ^{mu}KAR-^dEN DUMU šá
19. ^{mu}Zab-di-ja ^{md}AG-ga-mil DUMU šá ^{mu}Kal-ba-a
20. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-an-ni DUMU šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-ŠEŠ A ^{lu}SANGA ^dIM
21. ^{mu}KI-^dAMAR.UTU-TIN ^{lu}DUB.SAR DUMU-šá ^{mu}SU-^dAMAR.UTU
22. DUMU ^{lu}SIPA ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{mu}Za-za-an-na ITI.BÁR
23. UD.24.KÁM MU.22.KÁM ^{mu}Da-ri-ia-muš LUGAL E.KI
24. LUGAL KUR.KUR mim-na a-na muh-hi ^{mu}ŠU-^dUTU u ^{mu}KI-^dEN-lum-niir
25. [DUMU.MEŠ šá ^dE]N-APIN^{es} ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-nu ul ma-hir
26. ^{mu}SU]-^dAMAR.UTU

The document concerning six hundred kur of dates and four hundred kur of barley, the capital and the interest, belonging to Marduk-rīmānī, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of the *Šāhit ginê*, charged against Erība-Marduk, son of Nidintu-Marduk. Annually in the month of Arahsamnu he will hand over one hundred kur of dates and fifty kur of barley. For the payment of these six hundred kur dates and four hundred kur of barley Šamšāja, son of Niqūdu, the slave of Erība-Marduk takes responsibility. The barley and dates are the demand charged against Bēl-šunu, son of Nabû-nāšir, the grandfather of Erība-Marduk.

The witnesses are: Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Bēl-rīmānī; Qībi-Bēl, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Maštuk; Guzānu, son of Nabū-šum-lišir, descendant of Basija; Liblū, son of Erība-Marduk, descendant of Arad-Ea; Nergal-ina-tēši-ētir, son of Zērija, descendant of the Šangū Šamaš; Ša-Nabū-šū, descendant of Nabū-ēreš; Nabū-ittannu, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Babūtu; Tabnea, son of Lūši-ana-nūr, descendant of Šīgūa; Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Zabdiya; Nabū-gamil, son of Kalbā; Marduk-rīmānī, son of Marduk-šum-ušur, descendant of the Šangū Adad; Itti-Marduk-balātu, the scribe, son of Erība-Marduk, descendant of the herdsman family. Zazanna, month of Nisanu, twenty-fourth day, twenty-second year of Darius, king of Babylon, king of Lands.

Marduk-rīmānī has received nothing whatever was charged against Gimil-Šamaš and Itti-Bēl-lummīr, the sons of Bēl-ēreš. [It is on? Erība]-Marduk (??).

5. BM 74621 = Bertin 2275 Collated

Zazanna

Dar 13 (509/508 B.C.)

1. ina ū-il-ti šá 6 ʾme KÙR ZÚ.LUM.MA¹ [à]
2. 4 me KÙR ŠE.BAR šá^{md} AMAR.UTU-ri-man-an-ʾni¹
3. DUMU-šá^{md} EN-TIN¹ DUMU Ĭ.SUR GI.NA šá i-na
4. muh-hi¹ Eri₄-ba-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU šá¹ Ni-din-tu₄-^dAMAR.UTU
5. ū^{md} UTU-a-a¹ qal-la-šú pu-ut e-ṭe-ru
6. na-šū-ú ina lib-bi 50 KÙR ŠE.BAR u 2 KÙR GIG.BA
7. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-an-ni ina ŠU¹ UTU-a-a
8. u¹ Na-an-ni-ja¹ la-mu-ta-nu šá
9. Eri₄-ba-^dAMAR.UTU ma-hi-ir e-lat GÍD.DA
10. ĬGI-ú šá 1 me KÙR ZÚ.LIM.MA a-di
11. 17 KÙR ŠE.BAR šá¹ Šá-gi-e
12. ¹mu-kin-nu¹ DI.KUD-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU-šá^{md} AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ
13. DUMU¹ Ba-si-ja¹ Ni-din-tu₄ DUMU šá¹ Na-din
14. DUMU¹ DA-^dAMAR.UTU^{md} EN-MU DUMU šá¹ EN-šú-nu
15. KAR-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU šá¹ Zab-di-ja^{md} <LUGAL>-A.TU.GAB.LIŠ-ŠEŠ-MU
16. DUMU¹ UR.A^{md} EN-bul-lit-su DUMU šá^{md} Bu-ne-ne-DÙ
17. DUMU¹ ŠU.HA¹ KAR-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU šá¹ []-ʾTIN¹
18. ^{md}EN-TIN¹ DUMU šá^{md} UTU-M[U
19. DUMU šá^{md} EN-tu-kul-ti[? x x x x]
20. ŠID DUMU šá¹ Eri₄-[ba
21. Za-za-an-na [ITU.x UD.x.KÁM]
22. MU.13.KÁM¹ Da-r[i-ja-muš]
23. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI [LUGAL KUR.KUR]
24. 1^{en}-ta-a₄ il-qu-ú

From the debt of 'six hundred kur dates' [and] four hundred kur of barley, belonging to Marduk-rīmānī, son of Bēl-uballit, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*, which is charged against Erība-Marduk, son of Nidintu-Marduk, and for which Šamšāja, his slave, takes responsibility — out of it fifty kur of barley and two kur of wheat Marduk-rīmānī has received from the hand of Šamašāja and Nannija, the servants of Erība-Marduk. This is apart from the former contract concerning one kur of dates together with seventeen kur of barley of Šage. The witnesses are: Dajjan-Marduk, son of Nabu-zēr-lišir, descendant of Basija; Nidintu, son of Nādin, descendant of Lē'i-Marduk; Bēl-iddin, son of Bēl-šunu; Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Zabdiya; <Šar>-šarbi-ah-iddin, son of Kalbā; Bēl-bullissu, son of Bunene-ibni, descendant of the Bā'iru; Mušēzib-Marduk, son of [DN]-uballit?; Bēl-uballit, son of Šamaš-id[din, ... son of Nabū-tukulti, ... the scribe, son of Erī[ba Zazanna, [month x, day x], thirteenth year of Dar[ius], king of Babylon [king of Lands]. They have taken one copy each.

6. BM 74623 = Bertin 2316

Zazanna URU ša^{md} Bēl-iddin

Dar 14 (508/507 B.C.)

1. [ina ū-il-ti šá 6] me KÙR ZÚ.LUM.MA
2. [à 4 me KÙR ŠE.BAR] šá^{md} AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni
3. [DUMU-šá^{md} EN-TIN¹ A¹ Ĭ].SUR GI.NA šá ina muh-hi
4. [ʾ]SU-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU šá¹ Ni-din-tu₄-^dAMAR.UTU
5. ina lib-bi 50 KÙR ŠE.BAR^{md} AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni
6. DUMU šá^{md} EN-TIN¹ ina na-aš-par-tu₄ šá¹ SU-^dAMAR.UTU
7. ina ŠU¹ ^{md}EN-MU DUMU šá^{md} AMAR.UTU (sic!) ma-hir
8. e-lat GÍD.DA.MEŠ mah-ru-tu
9. 1^{en}-ta-a₄ il-qu-ú
10. ¹mu¹-kin-nu¹ SUM¹-a DUMU šá¹ La-a-ba-ši
11. ^{md}AG-na-din-ŠEŠ DUMU šá¹ MU-^dAMAR.UTU
12. MU-^dAG DUMU šá^{md} EN-it-tan-nu
13. IR-^dME.ME DUMU šá¹ MU-DU Pa-da-a-'
14. A-šú šá^{md} Ja-a-hu-qa-a-am¹ DUG.GA-ja
15. A-šú¹ šá¹ Li-ši-ru¹ Mu-še-zib-^dAG A-šú šá
16. []-NUMUN-DÙ^{md} EN-MU A-šú šá^{md} EN-šú-nu
17. []-ʾMU¹ A-šú šá^{md} AG-NUMUN-GIŠ
18. []¹ Za-za-an-na URU šá^{md} EN-MU
19. [ITI.x UD.x].KÁM MU.14.KÁM
20. [ʾDarija-mu]š LUGAL E.KI u KUR.KUR

One seal.

[From of the debt of six] hundred kur of dates [and four hundred kur of barley] belonging to Marduk-rīmānī, son of Bēl-uballit, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*,

charged against Erība-Marduk, son of Nidintu-Marduk — out of it fifty kur of barley Marduk-rīmāni has received from Bēl-iddin, son of Marduk-*<x>* at the order of Erība-Marduk. This is apart from the former contracts. They have taken one copy each.

The witnesses are: Idinna, son of Lābāši; Nabû-nādin-ahi, son of Iddin-Marduk; Iddin-Nabû, son of Bēl-ittannu; Arad-Gula, son of Šum-ukīn; Padda, son of Jahu-qam; Tābija, son of Liširu; Mušēzib-Nabû, son of x-zēr-ibni; Bēl-iddin, son of Bēl-šunu; [the scribe X]-iddin, son of Nabû-zēr-lišir [descendant of x]. Zazanna, the city of Bēl-iddin [month x, day x], fourteenth year of [Dari]us, king of Babylon, king of Lands.

Com.:

1. 3 the sign Ī.SUR are written in opposite order.

7. BM 74532 = Bertin 2529 Collated

Šuanna (= Šušān?)

8.12b.Dar 24 (497 B.C.)

1. 1 1/2 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR šá ina 1 GÍN *pit-qa*
2. *nu-uh-hu-*<tu>** šá ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU DUMU-šú-šá
3. ^mBa-si-ja ina *muh-hi* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni
4. DUMU-šú šá ^{md}EN-TIN^{it} A ^{lu}Ī.SUR *sat-tuk*
5. ina ITI.GUD KÙ.BABBAR ina SAG.DU-šú *i-nam-din*
6. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^mRi-ba-a-tú A-šú šá
7. ^mŠu-ma-a ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá
8. ^mNUMUN-tú ^{md}EN-NIGIN^{ir} DUMU-šú šá
9. ^{md}AG-it-tan-uu A ^{md}EN-nap-šá-a-ta
10. ^{md}AG-ú-sur-šú A-šú šá ^mSU-^dAMAR.UTU
11. A ^mŠul-lu-uu-šú ^mMu-ra-šu-ú A-šú šá
12. ^mI-qu-bu ^mMU-^dAG ^{lu}DUB.SAR A-šú šá
13. ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-bul-liṭ A ^mA-qar-^dAG
14. ^mŠu-an-na ITI.ŠE *ár-ku-ú*
15. UD.8.KÁM MU.24.KÁM
16. ^mDa-ri-'a-muš-šú LUGAL E.KI u KUR .<KUR>

One and half mina of silver, which has one-eight alloy in every one shekel, the *muhutu*-quality, belonging to Bēl-ahhē-iddin, son of Basija, charged against Marduk-rīmāni, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*. In the month of Aiaru, he will deliver the capital.

Witnesses are: Ribātu, son of Šumā; Šamaš-ah-iddin, son of Zērūtu; Bēl-upahhir, son of Nabû-ittannu, descendant of Bēl-napšātu; Nabû-ušur-šū, son of Erība-Marduk, descendant of Šullumušu; Murašū, son of Iqūbu; Iddin-Nabû, the scribe, son of Nabû-ahhē-bulliṭ, descendant of Aqar-Nabû. Šuanna, the second Addaru, twenty-fourth year of Darius, king of Babylon and Lan[ds].

8. BM 74542 = Bertin 2528 Collated

Šušānna

- - Dar 24 (498/7 B.C.)

1. 50 KÙR ŠE.BAR šá ^mA-qa-bu
2. DUMU-šú šá ^mBa-si-ja ina *muh-hi*
3. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni DUMU-šú šá ^{md}EN-TIN^{it}
4. A ^{lu}Ī.SUR *sat-tuk* ina ITI.SIG₅ ina UD.KIB.NUN.KI
5. *i-nam-din pu-ut e-tè-ru šú*
6. ŠE.BAR-a₄ 50 KÙR ^mGu-za-nu
7. ^{lu}SANGA UD.KIB.NUN.KI *na-ši*
8. ina ^dEN u ^m[Da-ri-ja]-^rmuš^r *it-te-me*
9. *ki-^ri* [a-di-i UD.x.KÁM ŠE.BAR 50 KÙR-a₄ *i-nam-di*]n
10. [ki-i] ul [*it-tan-uu*.....]

Rev.

11. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{md}30 (sic!) DUMU-šú šá
12. ^mA-mat-x[] ^{md}EN-MU
13. DUMU-šú šá [] *pi* DUMU-šú šá
14. ^mEN-[] šá ^{md}ŠU-PAP
15. ^m[Ina?] [] ^mMU-DU
16. DU[MU] ^{md}AM]AR.UTU-ri-man-ni
17. [] ^mŠu-uš-an-na
18. [ITU.x. UD.x. KÁM MU].24.KÁM
19. [^mDa-ri-ja]-muš LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

Fifty kur of barley, belonging to Aqābu, son of Basija, charged against Marduk-rīmāni, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*. He will deliver it in the month of Simanu in Sippar. For payment of barley — fifty kur — Guzānu, the Šangū of Sippar takes responsibility. Before the god Bēl and Darius he swore that [he would deliver] [till the x day (of the month x)] that 50 kur of dates. [If] he [did not deliver....] Witnesses are: Sin-..., son of Amat-....; Bēl-iddin, son of Bēl-...;-pi, son of Bēl-...; son of Marduk-nāšir; Ina-... Šum-ukin, so[n... Mar]duk-rīmāni ... Šušānna, month of x, day x, twenty-fourth year of [Dar]ius, king of Babylon.

Com.:

1. 8 The oath formula in other text looks like: *ina* ^dEN ^dAG u RN LUGAL KUR.KUR (cf. BM 92729) or *ina* ^dEN ^dAG u a-de-e RN LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI LUGAL KUR. KUR (74538, 74681, BRM I), however here is not enough place to include all words after ^dEN and before *it-te-me* because it is enough for 5 signs at maximum. The sign after ^dEN is evidently u which is followed by the name of Darius, for which name the last sign *muš* is recognizable.

9. ZA 3 (1888), s. 216-217 and copy on p. 224-225

Babylon

8.12.Dar 25 (496 B.C.)

1. 2 1/3 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR¹ šá ina 1 GÍN *pit-qa nu-uh-hu-tu*
2. šá *a-na ku-um ba-ta-qa* šá ŠID¹ šá¹ AMAR.UTU-ri-e-man-ni
3. DUMU šá¹ EN-TIN¹ A¹ ŠUR *gi-ni-e a-na ma-la*
4. HA.LA šá¹ KI-ENŠADA-IGI-ja DUMU-šá¹ ENŠADA-a-a-lu
5. ù 1 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR¹ *ku-um šib-te-e-ti* šá¹ KI-ENŠADA-IGI-ja
6. PAP 3 1/3 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR¹ šá ina 1 GÍN *pit-qa nu-uh-hu-tu*
7. šá *ana ku-um ba-ta-qa* šá ŠID¹ šá¹ AMAR.UTU-ri-e-man-ni
8. ù *šib-te-e-ti* šá¹ KI-ENŠADA-IGI-ja¹ KI-ENŠADA-IGI-ja
9. DUMU šá¹ ENŠADA-a-a-lu ina ŠU¹ AMAR.UTU-ri-e-man-ni
10. DUMU Šá¹ EN-TIN¹ A¹ ŠUR *gi-ni-e ma-hi-ir*
11. *e-ti-ir* KI-ENŠADA-IGI-iá¹ *a-hi-iš-tu* šá¹ AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni
12. *ana muh-hi ba-ta-qa* šá ŠID¹ šá¹ AMAR.UTU-ri-e-man-ni
13. ù *šib-te-e-ti* šá¹ KI-ENŠADA-IGI-iá¹ KI-ENŠADA-IGI-iá
14. *it-ti* AMAR.UTU-ri-e-man-ni *i-te-pu-uš*
15. *dib-ba* šá¹ KI-ENŠADA-IGI-iá¹ *ana UGU ba-ta-qa*
16. šá ŠID¹ šá¹ AMAR.UTU-ri-e-man-ni ù
17. ù *šib-te-e-ti* šá¹ KI-ENŠADA-IGI-iá¹ *it-ti*
18. AMAR.UTU-ri-e-man-ni *ja-a-nu dib-bi-šú-nu* KI *a-ha-meš*
19. *qa-tu-ú a-na UGU a-ha-meš ul i-tu-ru-nu*
20. ¹mu-kin-nu¹ Bul-ṭa-a DUMU šá¹ Ri-mut-¹EN A¹ ZÁLAG-¹ŠÚ¹ AMAR.UTU-SU
21. DUMU šá¹ Li-nu-uh-ŠÀ-DINGIR¹ IM-še-zib DUMU šá¹ Ri-ba-a-tú
22. Ni-din-tu¹ DUMU šá¹ E-tel-lu A¹ SANGA¹ UTU
23. Ni-qu-pu A-šú šá¹ EN-MU A¹ BE-ta-DÙ¹ EN-ri-man-ni
24. DUMU šá¹ EN-MU A¹ GAL-DÙ¹ EN-TIN¹ DUMU šá¹ UTU-MU A¹ ŠUR *gi-ni-e*
25. EN-it-tan-nu DUMU šá¹ AMAR.UTU-LUGAL-ŠEŠ¹ EN-GÁL DUMU šá¹ AG-TIN-su-E
26. EN-it-tan-nu DUMU šá¹ Ni-din-tu¹ Ni-din-tu¹ DUMU šá¹ 30-DINGIR A¹ EN-e-tè-ru
27. Gi-mil-lu DUMU šá¹ Ri-mut-¹EN A¹ SANGA¹ UTU¹ AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-bul-liṭ
28. DUMU šá¹ EN-MU A¹ BAHAR¹ UTU-MU DUMU šá¹ Ki-rib-tu A¹ ŠU.HA
29. SUM¹ AG DUMU šá¹ Lib-luṭ A¹ Ši-gu-ú-a¹ Ú-bar DUMU šá¹ Šil-la-a
30. A¹ DÙ¹-DINGIR¹ EN-MU DUMU šá¹ 30-DINGIR A¹ Aš-kan-nu¹ EN-GI DUMU šá¹

31. Ni-qu-du DUMU Á.GÁL-e-a¹ AG-GI DUMU šá¹ AG-DU-A A¹ DINGIR-ja
32. Mi-nu-ú-a-na¹ EN-da-a-nu DUB.SAR DUMU šá¹ KAR-¹AMAR.UTU
33. DUMU Im-bu-ši-ja E.KI ITU.ŠE UD.8.KÁM MU.25.KÁM
34. Da-ri-ja-muš LUGAL E.KI LUGAL KUR.KUR.MEŠ

Two and half mina of white silver, which has one-eighth of alloy in every shekel of *nuhhutu*-quality, in lieu of (the punishment consisting of) cutting of the hand of Marduk-rimanni, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē* according to the share of Itti-Nusku-ēnēja, son of Nusku-ajjalu and one mina of white silver in lieu of the imprisonment of Itti-Nusku-ēnēja, together three and one-third minas of white silver which in every shekel has one-eighth of alloy of *nuhhutu*-quality, which in lieu of (the punishment consisting of) cutting of the hand of Marduk-rimanni and in lieu of the imprisonment of Itti-Nusku-ēnēja, Itti-Nusku-ēnēja, son of Nusku-ajjalu has received from the hand of Marduk-rimanni, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*; he has paid. Itti-Nusku-ēnēja has made a settlement with Marduk-rimanni with regard to the balance (of the fine) in the matter of cutting off Marduk-rimanni's hand and Itti-Nusku-ēnēja's imprisonment. There is no lawsuit of Itti-Nusku-ēnēja concerning the hand of Marduk-rimanni and (concerning) the imprisonment of Itti-Nusku-ēnēja against Marduk-rimanni; their case has been settled in mutual (agreement) and they do not return to it each other.

Witnesses are: Bulṭa, son Rīmūt-Bēl, descendant of Nūr-Marduk; Marduk-erība, son of Līnūh-libbi-ili; Adad-šēzib, son of Ribātu; Nidintu, son of Etellu, descendant of the Šangū Šamaš; Iqūpu, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Ilūta-bani; Bēl-rimanni, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of the *rab bāni*; Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Šamaš-iddin, descendant of the *Šāhit ginē*; Bēl-ittannu, son of Marduk-šar-ušur; Bēl-ušabši, son of Nabu-bālassu-iqbi; Bēl-ittannu, son of Nidintu; Nidintu, son of Sin-ili, descendant of Bēl-ēṭēru; Gimillu, son of Rīmūt-Bēl, descendant of the Šangū Šamaš; Nabū-ahhē-bullit, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of the Pahāru; Šamaš-iddin, son of Kiribtu, descendant of the Bā'iru; Iddin-Nabū, son of Li-blut, descendant of Šigūa; Ubār, son of Šillāja, descendant of <Ea>-eppēš-ili; Bēl-iddin, son of Sin-ili, descendant of Ašgandu; Bēl-ušallim, son of Niqūdu, descendant of Li'ea; Nabū-ušallim, son of Nabū-mukīn-apli, descendant of Ilīja; Mīnu-ana-Bēl-danu, the scribe, son of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Im-bušiṭja, Babylon, month of Addaru, eighth day, twenty-fifth year of Darius, king of Babylon, king of Lands.

Com.:

The scribe is known also from Dar 551:26 (17.9.Dar 22) as a witness and again as a scribe in BM 59568:31 (16.4.Dar 35) NABU 1997, no 11, but there is DUMU MU¹AMAR.UTU (coll.)

1. 23 Iqūbu (written Uqūbu), son of Bēl-iddin, is also present in Dar 551:23.

10. BM 74632 = Bertin 2688 Collated

Šušān

3.1.Dar 30 (492 B.C.)

1. 1/3 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú šá ina 1 GÍN *pit-qa nu-uh-hu-tu*
2. šá ^{md}U+GUR-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MUA-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-EN-ZI.MEŠ
3. A [^{ld}SANGA] ^dUTU *ina muh-hi* ^{md}EN-bul-liṭ-su DUMU šá
4. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-r]i-man-ni DUMU^{lu}Ṭ.SUR *gi-ni-e* šá ITU
5. *ina m[uh-hi 1 ma]-ni-e 1 GÍN* KÙ.BABBAR HAR.RA *ina muh-hi-šú i-rab-bi*
6. UD.1.K[ÁM UD.x].KÁM UD.11.KÁM UD.12.KÁM šá ITU UD-su *is-qu*
7. ^{ld}GÍR.LÁ.MEŠ *i-na É-babbar-ra* É ^dUTU šá ^{uu}UD.KIB.NUN.KI
8. *maš-ka-nu* šá ^{md}U+GUR-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ^{ld}TUK^u šá-nam-ma *ina muh-hi*
9. *ul i-šal-laṭ a-di muh-hi* šá ^{md}U+GUR-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU KÙ.BABBAR^u
10. 1/3 *ma-na in-ni-ti-ir e-lat ú-íl-ti*
11. šá 4 1/3 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR SAG.DU šá ^{md}U+GUR-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU
12. šá *ina muh-hi* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni AD šá ^{md}EN-bul-liṭ-su
13. *ù is-qu* ^{lu}[^{ld}]NI.DU₈-ù-tu šá KÁ.GALⁱ ù
14. 3 *qa* NINDA.HI.A *ina* IGI ^dGAŠAN UD.KIB.NUN.KI
15. *maš-ka-nu ša-<ab>-tu*
16. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{md}AG-A-MU A-šú šá ^{md}Ni-din-tu₇-^dU+GUR
17. A ^{md}LÚ-^dÉ-a ^{md}U+GUR-še-zib A-šú šá ^{md}La-ba-a-ši
18. A ^{md}AD-NU-ZU ^{md}EN-ri-man-ni A-šá šá
19. ^{md}AG-MU-DU A ^{lu}GAL.DÙ ^dAMAR.UTU
20. ^{md}EN-SUR A-šú šá ^{md}ŠEŠ-aq-qa ^{md}EN-MU A-šú šá
21. ^{md}U-bal-liṭ-su-^dAMAR.UTU A ^{ld}SANGA ^dBE
22. ^{md}EN-BA^{ša} A-šú šá ^{md}EN-ri-man-ni
23. ^{md}EN-it-tan-nu DUB.SAR DUMU-šú šá ^{md}AG-NUMUN-GIŠ
24. A ^{lu}MUN.HI.A-šú ^{uu}Šu-šá-an ITU.BÁR UD.3.KÁM
25. MU.30.KÁM ^{md}Da-ri-ja-muš LUGAL E.KI
26. *u* KUR.KUR

One third mina of silver, which has in every one shekel one-eight alloy, the *nuhhutu*-quality, belonging to Nergal-ahhē-iddin, son of Marduk-bēl-napšāti, descendant of the Šangū Šamaš, charged against Bēl-bullissu, son of Marduk-rīmānī, descendant of the *Šāhīt ginē*. Monthly one shekel of silver will increase in proportion to one mina. The first, [xth], eleventh and twelfth day of every month, these days of the butcher's prebend in Ebabbar, the temple of Šamaš in Sippar are the pledge of Nergal-ahhē-iddin. No other creditor shall possess any right to (the property of Bēl-bullissu) until Nergal-ahhē-iddin will return his silver — one-third mina. Apart for an earlier debt of four and one-third mina of silver, the capital of Nergal-ahhē-iddin, charged against Marduk-rīmānī, father of Bēl-bullissu and the prebend of doorkeeper at the great gate and 3 qa of bread (allocated) to Šarrat Sippar are taken as a pledge.

The witnesses are: Nabû-apal-iddin, son of Nidintu-Nergal, descendant of Amēl-Ea; Nergal-<u>šēzib, son of Lābāši, descendant of Abu-ul-īdī; Bēl-rīmānī, son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, descendant of *rab bāni* Marduk; Bēl-ētir, son of Ahaqqa; Bēl-iddin, son of Uballissu-Marduk, descendant of the šangū Ea; Bēl-iqīša, son of Bēl-rīmānī; Bēl-ittannu, the scribe, son of Nabû-zēr-līšir, descendant of the salt-seller. Šušān, month of Nisanu, third day, thirteenth year of Darius, king of Babylon and Lands.

11. BM 74633 = Bertin 2691 Collated

Šušān

22.11.Dar 30 (491 B.C.)

1. 1 *ma-na* 10 GÍN <KÙ.BABBAR> BABBAR^a šá ina 1 GÍN *pit-qa nu-uh-lu-tu*
2. šá ^{md}Na-din DUMU-šú šá ^{md}KI-^dAG-TIN ù ^{md}Sag-gil-la
3. DUMU šá ^{md}Ki-rib-tu *ina muh-hi* ⁱIn-ba-a DUMU.MÍ
4. šá ^{md}LU-UD.DU-ana-ZÁLAG ù ^{md}IR-^dEN DUMU-šú {DUMU} šá
5. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni ù ^{md}KI-^dAMAR.UTU-TIN DUMU šá
6. ^{md}EN-TINⁱ DUMU ^{md}Ṭ.SUR *gi-ni-e* {e} (erased, but still readable)
7. É šá ^{uu}UD.KIB.NUN.KI šá *ka-a-ri* šá DA É
8. ^{md}MU-^dAG ù DA É ^{md}[Ina]-SUH-SUR šá ^{md}IR-^dEN
9. DUMU-šú ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ri-man-ni *maš-ka-nu i-di* É HAR.RA KÙ.BABBAR
10. 1 *ma-na* 10 GÍN *ja-a-nu a-di* 3 MU.MEŠ
11. É *ina* IGI ^{md}Na-din ù ^{md}Sag-gil-la
12. *ina ma-har* ^{md}Il-tab-bu-ú-ku
13. ^{md}BA^{ša}-^dAMAR.UTU ^{md}UR-ⁱku-ku⁷
14. ^{md}IR-^dU+GUR ^{md}Ze-ri-ja
15. ^{md}EN-e-ⁱè-ru ^{md}SUM^{na}-^dEN ^{lu}DI.KUD
16. ^{md}Ze-ri-ja ^{lu}DI.KUD šá-ⁱṭi⁷-ⁱri šá-ⁱta-ri
17. ^{md}Šu-šá-an ITI.ZÍZ UD.22.KÁM MU.30.KÁM
18. ^{md}Da-a-ri-ja-muš LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI LUGAL KUR.KUR

NA₄.DUB

^{md}Ṭi⁷-ri-ja

[^{lu}DI.KUD

(written below

1. 18 in opposite direction)

L.h. side edge

NA₄.DUB

Il-tab-

tu-ú-ku

R.h.side edge

NA₄.DUB

^{md}BA^{ša}-^dŠÚ

^{lu}DI.KUD

One mina ten shekels of white silver, which has in every one shekel one-eight of alloy, the *nuhhutu*-quality, belonging to Nādin, son of Itti-Nabû-balāṭu and Saggilaja, son of Kiribtu, charged against Inbā, the daughter of Lūši-ana-nūr and Arad-Bēl, son of Marduk-rīmānī and Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of the *Šāhīt ginē*. The house in Sippar on the embankment, adjoining

with the house of Iddin-Nabû and with the house of Ina-tēši-ētir, belonging to Arad-Bēl, son of Marduk-rīmanni is a pledge. There is neither rent for the house nor interest on the silver. For three years the house is (given) at disposal of Nādin and Saggilaja.

Before Itabbuku, Iqīša-Marduk, UR-ku-ku, Arad-Nergal, Zērija, Bēl-ēṭēru, Iddin-Bēl, the judge; Zērija, the judge, *who wrote the document*. Šušanu, twenty-second day of Šabaṭu, thirteenth year of Darius, king of Babylon, king of Lands.

Seal of Zērija, Seal of Itabbuku, Seal of Iqīša-Marduk
the judge the judge the judge

Com.:

l. 16. Because the scribe of the document is not mentioned, and the sign after *šā* looks like *ti* I propose to reading *šā-^{ti}?-ri šā-ṭa-ri*, a formula well known from texts from seventh century B.C.



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